2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

be held in the canoe by the others, for she tries to jump into the water. At the same time, all those present in the canoe scoop up the water and pour it over themselves, for it is at this moment quite holy. The possessed person is gradually calmed and brought back to a normal state as the canoes move up the river.

During this time, groups of fishermen often go out in their newly blessed canoes (canoas de bordejo) to play. Because their canoes have been blessed by the priest, and because of the holy aspect of the water resulting from the presence of the Mother of the Waters, the men may enter the water without fear, so they jump in and out of the water and swim around their canoes until they are tired. This cannot be done at any other time of the year for it is not considered safe to enter deep water.

After the second gift has been offered and accepted, the party lands and goes back to town on foot in a spirit of great joy and gaiety. The rest of the day is given over to horse racing, visiting, gaming, and dancing on the fishermen's square. People from classes A and B do not participate in these proceedings, which they consider barbarous. But most lower-class people at least watch, although only participants enter the canoes. Observers walk along the banks and watch. Cults from the rural areas make their own presentations separately, frequently on Christmas Day and in another locale.

The next festival in the year comes after January 6, the Day of Kings, which has already been mentioned. Parties take place from this day until the beginning of Lent. Other than a Mass, there is no longer much sanctity connected to this day.

The most important festival of the year is that of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Praia, the patron saint of most of the fishermen, to whom their chapel is dedicated. This festival begins on January 13 and starts off each evening with a novena held in the fishermen's chapel. The priest goes each evening for the novena, and, on the three last days of the festival, each morning, to celebrate Mass in honor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição, St. Peter, and St. John. A committee is organized in the chapel to ask patrons for contributions to the festival, for candles, oils, electric light, and to pay the priest each night. Flowers are a very important part of the festival, although at this time of the year they are very expensive. Each night of the novena there is a different group of patrons, and

planters. People in the upper class of the town, when they can, send their children to the capital to continue their education, and there are several *mestiço* students from Vila Recôncavo studying law, medicine and engineering in Salvador. The intelligence of the mulatto is traditional, and it has been equally traditional that the darker-skinned person is unintelligent. Today these traditions are not as strong as before, but still it is felt that the mulatto has somewhat more aptitude than the Negro. The old idea of the Negro, meant for work and to be servile, still exists, now tempered with the knowledge that education can change the situation. There is only one club in Vila Recôncavo—a football club—and the players are all shades, from white to black, and so are the spectators. They all sit or stand together under the shade of the one big tree which gives shade to the playing field. The field is on the property of a white man who, while he has nothing to do with the team, allows them to play there, put up goal posts and markers. The bar and recreation centre are open to all so long as they wear shoes—a ruling made to keep out the muddy feet of children who came straight from the beach to have a 'coke'. All the racial types and classes get together here to play pool and gossip, this being the one and only point of public social activity in the town. At the movies, the admission price is extremely low, the same for everyone, and all four classes attend. Negroes and whites of all classes sit next to each other. At church there are no special pews, the faithful usually gathering in the front and the less faithful hanging about near the back. The choir and the acolytes are from all classes and colours. At parties, which are few, colour lines are disregarded, *brancos* and *morenos* dance with *mulatos* and *pretos* just as long as both partners can *pular* (jump).

The social situation is gradually changing, and the extremely personal element is being lost. It is strongest on the private plantation, where the owner spends the greater part of the year, but at the *usina* much of the personal element is weakened because of the numbers of workers. Even at the *usina*, there is visiting and gossiping between the owners' families and the workers. But at the *usina* not all the workers accept their subservient position as do those of the plantations. This is specially true of the higher echelon of specialists and technicians of the mill, who will frequently not go to a party given by the owner, even though invited. It seems to be a way of saying that the company of the white owners is neither needed nor wanted. They prefer to keep their relations on a strictly business basis. At the *usina*, when a worker is sick, he goes to the medical post where he is treated by a paid nurse, rather than to the owner's house. On pay day, the *usina* worker is paid at the mill by a paymaster, not in the living room of the owner's house. Nevertheless, in spite of the industrialized aspect of the mill, the number of workers is not too large to exclude all personal contact with the owners, who adminis-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

were mulattoes, and only 6.4 per cent were relatively unmixed blacks; while, of 30 occupants of general admission seats at one-half this price, only 20 per cent were whites, 40 per cent were mulattoes, and 40 per cent were blacks. Among spectators at a Sunday-afternoon soccer game, one noted the distribution as given in Table 12.

Of five hundred mothers applying for aid at the state's free children's clinic, only 9.2 per cent were white, 40.6 per

TABLE 12

RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF SPECTATORS AT A SPORTS EVENT,* BAHIA, 1936

SEATS	PRICE (IN MILREIS)	OCCUPANTS	PERCENTAGE			
			Blacks	Mulattoes	Whites	Total
Reserved	10	143	2.1	23.8†	74.1	100
Grandstand	7	267	4.1	29.4†	66.5	100
General admission	3	519	51.1	39.9‡	9.0	100

* *Futebol* (soccer), Campo da Graça, March 22, 1936.

† Chiefly light mulattoes, many of whom were very light with only slight traces of Negro lineage.

‡ Principally dark mulattoes.

cent were mulatto, predominantly dark, and 44.5 per cent appeared to be relatively unmixed blacks.[6] Of 1,511 photographs displayed in eleven photograph galleries, 73.2 per cent were probably of white individuals, 24.9 per cent of mixed-bloods, and only 1.7 per cent of unmixed blacks.[7]

In interpreting this ethnic distribution in the occupations and according to financial means, one might point out that

[6] The remaining 5.7 per cent were *cafuso* (21 individuals), *branco da Bahia* (2 individuals), *mamaluco* (2 individuals), and of Indian-white-Negro descent (1 individual).

[7] In addition, 0.2 per cent were *cafuso*.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

the garden swing were 11 blacks, 8 mulattoes, and 7 whites. There was considerable moving about from group to group. In the garden of the governor's palace a similar band, aged about seven to thirteen years, were laughing and shouting together around another teeter-totter. Among them were 3 blacks, 5 mulattoes, and 4 whites. "Beginning with his earliest years," wrote a white student, "a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them."

563* 857

In Campo da Graça" 6 whites and 5 mulattoes (one of whom was quite dark) composed the team of the Faculty of Law in a soccer game with the Faculty of Medicine (among whom were 7 whites, 3 mulattoes, and 1 black). In the subsequent professional contest 9 whites, 4 mulattoes, and 4 blacks composed the visiting team from São Paulo, coached by a *cafuso*. Bahia's colors were upheld by 2 whites, 5 mulattoes, 9 blacks, and 1 *cafuso*. The referee was a *branco da Bahia*.

563* 526 •

At an informal basketball game played on an outdoor court at the Fortress of São Pedro, a black and 4 mulattoes composed one team; a black, 2 mulattoes, and 2 whites, the other. The referee was a black.

At a tea dance given at Bahia's most exclusive club in honor of Getulio Vargas, president of Brazil, the city's most distinguished citizens and their families, to an approximate total of 600, were present. No blacks were among the guests, and only 28 individuals were noticeably negroid, 6 of whom were dark mulattoes. At a banquet subsequently given the President, all individuals seated at his table were white. A number of mixed-bloods, however, principally light mulattoes, were among the guests. Two of the six speakers at the

563* 574 [535]

" On March 22, 1936.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

533

labor of Negro slaves in the cane fields of the *engenhos* of the Reconcavo. The *cantador*, or leader, sings:

Olha a cana madura . . . .
Ela é verde, é madura . . . .
Para fazer "raspadura" . . . .

to which the chorus responds:

No cannaviá![19]

In a second chorus the solo is: "Lá vem o padre," and the response: "Pra casar vocês dois!"[20] In a third, the solo, "Por mim não, barbulêta," is followed by the chorus, "Você póde avuá!"[21]

535 The principal steps of this primitive *samba* are known as the *corta-a-jaca* (cutting the *jaca*), the *separa-o-visgo* (parting the pulp), and the *apanha-o-bago* (taking out the *bago*, or edible portion).

• 526 *Capoeira* is often *jogado* (played) in out-of-the-way places, and at times, particularly during Carnival or at such festivals as Segunda Feira do Bomfim and Conceição da Praia, it even invades more public places. It is a highly complex form of personal combat, originally developed by fugitive slaves to enable them to compete more effectively with armed *capitães do matto* and now enjoyed as a sport set to music. The agility of the contestants is remarkable, as they strive for points in a struggle without actual physical contact, where unexpected thrusts of the feet or elbows, rapid pivot-

[19] "See the ripe cane,
It is green, it is ripe,
Ready to make *raspadura* [coarse brown sugar]
Chorus:
In the *cannaviá* [roadway through the cane field]!"

[20] "Here comes the priest,
To marry you both! . . . ."

[21] "As for me, no, butterfly,
You can fly away!"

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll

526 •

ing, and sudden "cartwheels" alternate with other attempts to confuse and "cripple" an opponent.[22]

534

The musical instruments commonly employed among this portion of the population are the *atabaques*, the *agôgô*, the *caxixi*, the *canzá*, the *agê*, the *chocalho*, the *xaque-xaque*, the *cuica*, and the *berimbau*. All but the last three instruments are rarely seen outside the *candomblé*.

The *atabaques* (or *tambaques*) are wooden drums, each approximately twenty inches in diameter but varying in height, invariably used in sets of three. The largest, called *ilú*, or *rum*, is seldom less than two and one-half feet tall and occasionally attains seven feet, while the medium-sized drum, known as *rumpi*, ranges from two to four feet in height, and the smallest, or *lé*, from one and one-half to two and one-half feet. To produce a soft, muted sound, the drums are beaten with the hands. For the heavier tones, *baquetas*, or short wooden sticks, are employed. The huge *bátá-cótó*, or war drum, which played a prominent role in the slave insurrections, has long since disappeared.

The *agôgô* is a bi-tonal instrument, consisting of two hollow iron cones joined together. It is beaten with an iron pin. The *agê*, or *piano de cuiá*, is a large calabash containing pebbles and covered with a small cotton net in whose meshes *buzios*, or cowries imported from Africa, are firmly secured. If the latter are not available, dry seeds known as *contas da Nossa Senhora* are employed instead, and pebbles are occasionally inserted in the calabash itself to augment the sound. The *caxixi* is a tiny reed or straw basket containing cowries or small pebbles. The *xaque-xaque* is a hollow metal instrument shaped like a dumbbell, each of whose enlarged extremities contains small pebbles. When shaken, it produces

[824]

[22] See Edison Carneiro, *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937), pp. 147–60.

[SALVADOR]

/76 cont./

*563 562 792 178 tradition of accepting as religious only the daughters of nobles and of high colonial officials, and as "servants" girls of colored or humble extraction. Therefore, the number of morenas or very light mulatto religious is minimal and all are of recent admission.

*563 793 [829] There is also a prejudice, widespread among the priests of the secular clergy, that "the mulattoes are very inclined to concupiscence and to arrogance when they are intelligent." Nevertheless dark priests are ordained. At least 30 o/o of the 176 priests ordained at the archdiocesan theological seminary of Bahia between 1907 and 1951 were colored; among 50 colored priests identified in the register, at least seven were very dark or black. Approximately the same proportion can be noted among the 42 secular priests living in the city. Among those who are best known as sacred orators and who are invited to preach on solemn occasions in the ecclesiastical life and in the religious ceremonies that precede the examinations of the different schools of the local university, there are numerous pardos and Blacks, some of whom enjoy a great deal of prestige as vicars of important parishes, as professors, and as men of letters. The theological seminary of the archdiocese also includes at present an increased number of young colored students, made up of dark mulattoes and Blacks. [874]

/77/ Sports

*563 •526 In no matter what study of the most popular sports of Brazil, whether it is a matter of football, rowing, basketball, volleyball, or tennis, it is indispensable to consider that some of them are practiced by certain socio-economic groups and that others, after having been a pastime of some of these groups, have become a profession.

*563 526 575 Tennis in Bahia is a bourgeois sport that an extremely limited number of people play. On the grounds of one of the principal clubs where this sport is played one does not see colored persons, except now and then one or two morenos of high rank from the liberal professions or from commerce. A mulatto practicing a

[SALVADOR]

/77 cont./

*563 ●526 575 liberal profession relates that he was more than once invited by the members of this club to join their teams, but he answered them: "You are all white. If one day when I might wish to play with a white girl she refused because I am mulatto, I would be capable of doing something foolish... It is much better to avoid this."

[565] Basketball and volleyball are also games played by the young people of the intermediate and upper classes, members of sporting and recreational clubs. Some of the "teams" as an exception, admit dark players capable of contributing to their victory; the portraits of these players may be seen in the halls of the luxurious buildings of some of these clubs. There are, moreover, some school teams on which students of different types take part.

[178] In the rowing clubs, an informant assures us, discrimination against colored persons was such some ten years ago that a group of dark young men founded a separate club that was allowed to pit itself against the others. Other informants explain, however, [565] that this discrimination was based on the fact that rowing has always been a sport of the bourgeoisie (students of the intermediate class, commercial employees, officials of the higher categories); no one of inferior rank, that is to say, of subordinate occupation (soldiers, domestics, laborers), was accepted on the teams. For some years, however, on the occasion of important competitions, certain clubs have temporarily completed their nautical teams with colored rowers taken from more plebeian teams. It is generally a matter of semiprofessional sportsmen of modest circumstances.

*563 526 The truly popular sport throughout the country is football. Groups of players, having a permanent or temporary organization, practice this game almost everywhere. Football games /78/ arouse extraordinary enthusiasm, especially among persons of the male sex, draw thousands and thousands of spectators to the stadiums, and bring in a great deal. At the beginning of the century football, introduced into Brazil by young men reared in England, was a pastime of the bourgeoisie; on their "teams" there were probably never, or very rarely, young colored men. One

[SALVADOR]

/78 cont./

563 526 [178] [595] 563 542 555 554 of the latter, however, was part of these teams for many years and was known and admired by the entire city. About 30 years ago football started to become professional; today there are few important clubs for amateurs. In the present phase that of professionals, there is no restriction against mulatto or black players. They are acclaimed with enthusiasm, and many people consider them exceptionally suited for this game because of their agility and their skill. The most important and the richest clubs wrangle over these players and offer them very large sums so that they will consent to play on their teams. Thus several of them are made up almost exclusively of dark players. The most popular footballers of Bahia are almost all black or dark mulattoes. It should be noted, however, that the fame and the popularity of these sportsmen, in large part recruited from the lowest strata of the population, do not confer on them a higher rank; they have access to certain groups who are particularly interested in the sport; but they do not thereby acquire the right to attend the recreational celebrations of certain clubs, except on very rare occasions. Another aspect of football is that its "teams" are organized and supported by associations that generally also carry on recreational activities and are directed with passionate devotion, even at the price of pecuniary sacrifices, by rich and influential people in commerce, the liberal professions, and the bureaucracy. To take part in the management of one of these associations or on the committee that co-ordinates sports activities throughout the State of Bahia is greatly coveted: this permits one to affirm his prestige and to obtain political support from players and from thousands of fans of the sport. Some politicians distinguish themselves by the effort they make to obtain subventions and other resources for the sporting associations. According to the social level of each of these institutions, the opportunities that colored persons have to take part in their management vary. An informant who for many years was a member of the aforementioned committee cites the names of various mulattoes and Blacks who, by their wealth and their devotion, attained the posts of president and of director of several of these organizations, as well as of the sports federation of the State.